9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958)1959 OF7 Bali OF7

591 611 428 in his own patriline, as a woman does at marriage in the normal case, and moves to his wife's home to live. As this almost always occurs in cases where male heirs are lacking, Balinese genealogies show a noticeable ambilineal element, in that a certain percentage of the ties are traced through women rather than men.

592 The basic residential unit is the *pekarangan* or walled house compound, which in kinship terms may house groups which range from a simple nuclear family up to a three or more generation extended patri-family. Typically two or three nuclear families, often with various unattached or aged patri-relatives, occupy a single pekarangan, but occasionally compounds with as many as ten or fifteen families, related through a common paternal grandfather may be found, particularly among the upper caste groups. In addition to being a residential unit, [346] the compound is a very important religious unit, for each compound group supports a small temple in the northeast corner of the yard dedi- [369] cated to its direct ancestors at which twice yearly ceremonials must be given. Finally, the compound is usually divided into kitchens, called *kuren*, typically one nuclear family to a kitchen, but sometimes two or three, and it is this kitchen group which is the basic kin unit from the point of view of all superordinate social institutions: it is the kuren which is taxed for the Kahyangan-Tiga temples, which is allotted a seat in the meeting house, which must send a worker to repair the dam or participate in the harvest, which is the rice-field owning unit, and so on.

614 621 Above the compound and the kitchen one commonly finds, within any given hamlet, from one to ten or so (largely but not entirely) endogamous corporate kin groups called *dadia*.[9] Such dadia are basically ritual units, but they may also act as collective work groups for various social and economic tasks, may provide the main framework for informal social intercourse outside the immediate family for its members, may serve as an undivided unit in the local stratification hierarchy, and may form a well-integrated faction within the general hamlet political system. The degree to which it takes on these general social functions differs rather widely from village to village. In some villages dadia organization is the central focus of social life, the axis around which it revolves; in others it is of relatively secondary importance; and in a few villages, especially semi-urbanized ones, dadia may not exist at all.

Rarely is the whole hamlet population organized into dadia, and sometimes only a definite minority will be. This is so because of the manner in which dadia are formed. When a family line begins to grow in size, wealth, and local political power, it begins to feel, as a consequence of what is probably the central [181] Balinese social value, status pride, a necessity for a more intensified public expression of what it takes to be its increased importance within the hamlet. At this point the various households which compose the line will join together under a chief elected from among them to build themselves a larger ancestral temple. This temple will usually be built on public, hamlet-owned land, rather than within the confines of one of the houseyards, thus symbolizing the fact

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that the line has come to be of consequence in the jural-political domain as well as in the domestic. The semi-annual ancestor worship ceremonies the group carries out now become more elaborate, stimulated, as is the building and (as the group continues to grow in power, size, and wealth) periodic renovation of the temple itself, by status rivalry with other local dadia.

Often within the large dadia, subgroups have differentiated and become corporate groups in their own right. These sub-dadia (the Balinese refer to them by a variety of terms) are composed of members of the dadia who know or feel themselves rather more closely related to one another than to the other members of the dadia. Even when there are sub-dadia, not all members of the dadia will necessarily belong to one of them. Sometimes a majority will remain free-floating dadia members and will have no sub-dadia ties at all. In one large dadia, for example, there were five sub-dadia accounting for sixty of the eighty or so kitchens in the dadia, the other twenty having no sub-dadia membership. It is the dadia, not the sub-dadia, which is the fundamental group, though the latter also often takes on important social functions.

As noted, the particular functions allocated to kin groups varies from place to place and the integration of these groups with each other and with the other social institutions becomes complex. Also, the number and relative size of kin groups in a given hamlet makes a notable difference in how both the kin groups themselves and the hamlet function. A hamlet with, say, one large dadia and four small ones, will differ in both organization and operation from one with three medium large ones plus one or two small ones, or with five or six of roughly equal size. Such issues cannot be pursued here, but it should be clear that kinship, rather than shrinking to a concern with primarily "familial" matters as tends to occur in many peasant societies, remains in Bali an important organizing force in the society generally, albeit but one among many such forces.

6. *Common membership in one or another voluntary organization.* The Balinese term for any organized group is *seka;* literally, "to be as one." Thus the group of hamlet people is called the *seka bandjar*, the irrigation group is called the *seka subak*, and there are *seka dadia*, *seka pura*, and so on. But beyond these formal, more or less obligatory groups, there are thousands of completely voluntary organizations dedicated to one or another specific purpose, which are just called seka. These cross-cut all other structural categories and are based wholly on the specific functional ends to which they are directed.

There are seka for housebuilding, for various kinds of agricultural work, for transporting goods to market, for music, dance, and drama performances, for weaving mats, moulding pottery, or making bricks, for singing and interpreting Balinese poetry, for erecting and maintaining a temple at a given waterfall or a particular sacred grove, for buying and selling food, textiles or cigarettes, and for literally dozens of other tasks. Many bandjars have seka for such highly specific purposes as hunting coconut squirrels or building simple ferris wheels for holiday celebrations. Such voluntary seka may have a half dozen or a hundred members, they may last for several weeks or for years, the

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forms but one patus, "c" two, and so on. Thus a man may well have his hamlet alliance in one place (not even necessarily where he lives), his temple ties in a second, and his cremation obligations in yet a third, though of course in a majority of cases some of these affiliations may be merged.

Since Njalian contains representatives of a wide range of caste titles, the interaction of the status hierarchy with the hamlet and temple systems adds yet another dimension of complexity. Hamlet "a" consists entirely of Brahmana and higher Satria people, including the ruling family, but some lesser Triwangsa belong to "b," "c", "d", and "e", mixed in among the Sudra. Hamlets "f", "g", and "h" are wholly Sudra, with "f" consisting of but a single dadia kin group, a rather uncommon occurrence. Caste affects temple organization too. In temple set I the death temple was until two years ago divided by a low wall; the Sudra organized their festival separately and held it on one side of the wall, the Triwangsa held theirs on the other. But this has been changed for reasons of economy and democracy, and now all worship together. Voluntary organizations, of which there are literally dozens, irrigation societies, two main ones being involved in this area, and some thirty or forty kin groups also complicate social relationships, though kinship is evidently less important here as an organizing force than in many other villages.

In such an admittedly extreme case of cross-cutting social groupings, the problem of integration, of mutual adjustments among the groups, is a very pressing one. At times open fights have broken out between leaders of various groups over the question of who had prior rights on the services of members common to them. Heavy concurrent demands often mean that work is only hastily done; when the slit gong is beaten to call together members of a given group, many people fail to appear because they either were too far away to hear the gong or thought that it was being sounded for another group to which they were not obligated. To rationalize this situation the Perbekel has instituted a monthly meeting of all important group leaders—fifty people or so—in which he tries valiantly to get them to coordinate their several efforts. He has also attempted to territorialize the system more by making hamlet and temple membership dependent on residence but, though he has had a little success in this direction, most of his efforts have been resisted by the villagers who, he claims, prefer things to be complicated. Despite the fact that he is the traditional ruler of the area, that he has been Perbekel for thirty years, and that he now has the whole Indonesian State behind him, he says that there is really very little he can do in reforming village institutions. People bow and act subservient, but they do just as they wish.

2. *Tihingan.* Although it lies only six miles or so east of Njalian, in the heart of the former kingdom of Klungkung, Tihingan differs from Njalian in most of its important features. Unlike Njalian, Tihingan has never been the seat of a lord, has relatively few Triwangsa and the Perbekel is a Sudra. Unlike Njalian, social affiliations, though complexly organized, are quite systematically integrated rather than randomly crosscutting. And unlike Njalian, there are within the perbekelan three definite spatial clusters of social loyalty to

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621 684 which the name village can be properly applied, while the perbekelan as a whole forms only the vaguest of social units. The three villages concerned are Pau, Penasan, and Tihingan proper (the seat of the Perbekel which, consequently, lends its name to the entire perbekelan). We shall be concerned here only with Tihingan proper.

Tihingan proper consists of a single hamlet of some 138 kitchens grouped into 85 house-compounds, and there is but one set of Kahyangan-Tiga temples [794] to which all members of the hamlet belong, a rather untypically simple arrangement. There is a Brahmana priest living in the village, and there is a [564] scattering of low-title Satria and Vesia families, but almost 90 percent of the population is Sudra. From the structural point of view, however, the most 621 striking characteristic of Tihingan is neither its territorial pattern nor its status 614 system, but the rather unusual importance of kinship as an organizational force in social life. It is the four dadia, accounting for nearly 80 percent of the village population, which form the axis around which Tihingan village life mainly revolves; and the implications of this simple fact can be traced through all the levels of its social organization. On the religious level, each major dadia [794] owns a very large, handsomely carved temple (in the case of the two largest dadia, even larger and more handsomely carved than the theoretically superordinate Kahyangan-Tiga temples) near the center of the village. The upkeep of this temple and the carrying out of the requisite semi-annual ceremonies within it in suitable style are among the major functions of the dadia, and rivalries in those matters can become quite intense.

At the political level, the distribution of hamlet leadership roles is con- [623] sciously and carefully designed to provide a realistic reflection of the balance of [634] dadia power. There are five klian or chiefs. Four of these are chosen, one from each of the major dadia; the fifth klian at the same time holds the office of Pengliman and is a member of the second largest dadia. Since the Perbekel himself, a man of some weight within Tihingan proper, is a member of the largest dadia, the kin group foundation for local leadership is clear and exact. Further, in supra-village political processes, institutionalized in the party sys- [665] tem of the "New Indonesia," the two largest kin groups are allied as a faction against the next two plus all the families not belonging to a dadia. All of the first group belong to the Socialist party and all of the second to the Nationalist, so that party allegiance is absolutely predictable from kin group membership, and reflects the internal organization of the village rather than personal ideological conviction.

621 614 476 [326] [243] On the economic level, each dadia forms a cooperative work group for the manufacture of Balinese musical instruments—metallaphones, gongs, cymbals, etc.—a smithing craft in which this village is partially specialized; the personnel working in any given forge almost inevitably are members of the same dadia.[19] Further, most tenancy and exchange work patterns in rice field cultivation also follow kin group lines, introducing these alliances into the irrigation society context as well. More informal economic relationships—money lending, patronage, and so on—follow the same pattern.

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Finally, even informal recreational interaction is shaped by extended kinship ties. It is only rarely that a man will enter the house-compound of a non-kinsman after nightfall when the most intensive gossiping takes place, though he will move freely among the yards of his dadia members. (A somewhat more consistent and literal adherence to the virilocal ideal in Tihingan than is common elsewhere means that house compounds of the same dadia tend to be fairly well clustered within the hamlet.) In cock fighting, a great part of the pattern of alliance and opposition—whose cock fights whose, who bets against whom—is only explicable in kinship terms. In religion, politics, economics, and informal social interaction, kin group membership therefore has a primacy in Tihingan which, though it is far from representing a universal pattern in Bali, is, like Njalian's lattice-work structure, a realized example of one possibility intrinsic in the intersecting plane type of village organization.

In this type of village organization the dangers of factionalism are obvious and the problem of containing kin group loyalties within the bounds of affiliation in hamlet, irrigation society, temple group, and so on becomes acute. Public activities are often marked by partially concealed kin group antagonisms. For example, when the hereditary priest of the origin and death temples died without an heir ten years ago, the kin groups could not agree on his successor so that responsibility for the ceremonies in these temples now rotates among the priests of the four dadia temples—a highly unsatisfactory and irregular pattern that the people themselves regard as "not quite right, but better than having an open war." At hamlet meetings in the balé the sort of universal agreement necessary to make decisions is difficult to accomplish, so that many proposals are blocked by the opposition of a minority kin group. For example, when the Perbekel tried to convince the hamlet to change funeral customs so as to bury people immediately, even on an unlucky day, rather than keep the corpse in the house for several days (a government-suggested health reform that the neighboring bandjar had adopted with little difficulty) the opposition of the dadia most hostile to the Perbekel's prevented the change from taking place, although the majority of villagers were in favor of it. Antagonisms arising out of marriages and divorces across dadia lines, economic rivalries between the musical instrument manufacturing groups, and competitive prestige displays at dadia temple ceremonies also contributed to the heightening of this sort of intergroup tension.

Yet in general, the village is fairly well integrated and factionalization is usually kept within bounds.[11] In part this is accomplished by the concurrent application of two explicit rules of procedure. The first rule is that whenever a group formed on the basis of one principle of affiliation is allocated a given social function, no other principle of affiliation may receive any recognition whatsoever. Thus if the hamlet is cooperating in some task, the work is never suborganized in terms of kinship, caste, or any other bond. If subgroups are technically necessary, people are grouped in a random manner, each family being regarded as a hamlet member pure and simple, as having no qualitative difference from any other. ("The hamlet knows no kinship," runs a Balinese

[104 cont.]

634 For his exertions on behalf of the soebak, the klian some-
312 times receives a double portion of irrigation water, and, as tax
[451 collector, he receives a part of the income from taxes.
465]

At the head of a number of soebak in one or more dèsa is the sedahan temboekoe, who stands above the various klian and supervises the distribution of the water. At the same time, he looks after the taxes for the prince. Above all of them is the head of the whole water supply, the sedahan agoeng, who holds regular monthly meetings with the several sedahan temboekoe. In 1882, when (in Buleleng) direct governmental administration was introduced, the sedahan temboekoe received a monthly salary of 130 guilders and the title of subcollector.

611 Family Law. On Bali and the Balinese portion of Lombok
● [614] (western Lombok) one can speak of a patriarchal family system,
but there is no longer any trace of clan divisions. There is
564 another dividing line, however, that of the caste system. The
greatest cleavage is that between the members of the three high-
est castes, the triwangsa, descendants of overlords, on the one
hand, and the soedra, the subjects, on the other. It is a rule
[582] that a man may not marry a woman of higher caste; he may,
however, marry a woman of lower caste. One may thus in part
speak here of true endogamy, the prohibition against marrying
outside of one's group, in this case outside of one's class or caste.
Otherwise the marriage and inheritance laws have more in com-
583 mon with those of patriarchal exogamy: the custom of bride
611 price, descent reckoned in the male line (for determining caste
423 membership, only that of the man is considered), inheritance
rights only for the male relatives in the male line, while the
[587] woman is, in theory, part of the inheritance, although this has
not led to levirate marriage.

Formerly, in the case of a death without heirs, the inheritance, after debts and the cost of cremation had been deducted, went to the dèsa association, later to the prince. This led [105]
833 to very sad consequences; the wives and daughters moved to the
428 royal residence and were simply sent out as prostitutes to increase

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong: OD12. Bali OF7
Mentawei OD9 Timor OF20

I 614 611 583 597

Saparua, then a matrilineal system would in time necessarily result. If the bride-price marriages and adoptive marriages are equally common, as among the Rejang (see p. 52), then the recognized kinship groups are descended either from a common ancestor or a common ancestress. Descent will be reckoned either patrilineally or matrilineally, depending on the form of marriage of the parents. This would not be either a bilateral, or a double unilateral, system. Nor can it be called either a patrilineal, or a matrilineal, system, since this would arbitrarily emphasize one system over the other, when both are equally frequent (although it is true among the Rejang that there are symptoms which point to a patrilineal preponderance). What we do have is unilaterally defined groups of relatives (suku) existing alongside of each other. The line of descent shifts constantly from the paternal side to the maternal, depending on the form of marriage. Therefore, it should be known as an alternating unilateral kinship system. Such alternating systems seem to exist here and there in the Great East, and associated with them is the practice of transfer of children from the mother's sub-clan to that of the father.

Mn Bl R Tm

I 614 612 581

A unilateral kinship system may have a certain amount of parental interweaving, if, as in Bali, exogamy is not known, or, if it falls into desuetude, as among the Mentawei, or when marriage within the sub-clan is permitted in order to avoid high expenses, as in Central Timor. It may also result from a third kind of marriage (in Rejang, semendo rajo rajo; and in Pasemah, tambiq anaq jurai duwa negory duwa) through which a child is placed in an identical relation to the kinship groups of the father and mother. In the case of the matriarchal Semendoëans and Rebangan of South Sumatra, the oldest child marries in such a way as to maintain the matriarchate (tungu tubang) along with the core of the extended family property or small family property. But for the other children, who marry in accordance with the "semendo anaq tengah" marriage form, the system is bilateral.

I 601 582

A general characteristic of Indonesian kinship systems is the so-called classificatory evaluation of relatives. The entire generation of a child's parents occupies a status similar to that of mother and father with respect to the child. Difference in generation, therefore, results in the prohibition of marriage.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Redjang-Lampong OD12
Gorontalo OG4 Java OE1
Gayo-Alas OD7 Bali OF7
Celebes OG1

in the frontier region between the Minangkabau and Mandailing. It does not occur at all in Angkola.

The second form of adoption is the "nyentanayang" of Bali. This is adoption from within the great traditional clan of relatives (purusa). However, in recent times adoption from outside this group is growing in frequency. In some villages members of the wife's family may be adopted. If the head wife has no children, but a secondary wife does, then her children are made children of the first wife by adoption. If there are no male relatives available for adoption, a girl may be chosen. The legal act of adoption requires first that a thread be burned in two, so as to separate the child from its own family. The second step is the adat payment of one thousand kepeng to its mother. The man who is doing the adopting acts in concordance with his family group; it is announced in the desa; and permission must be obtained from the officials of the prince, who draw up a legal document. The child itself gets presents. Here again, the child is fully cut off from its former parents, even in inheritance, and is a full member of its new family group.

The motive for this form of adoption is also the fear of dying childless and so suffering the extinction of the line of descent. A widow may also adopt a child for her deceased husband.

As a third variety, there is the adoption of nephews and nieces, which occurs in Celebes, Java, and other places. Among the Gayo, the Pasemah and the Pepadon groups, in the Lampongs, it takes place alongside of the adoption of non-relatives. However, it is distinguished from this last form by name and in the omission of payments for the children.

The adoption of nephews is, in a broad sense, to be compared with the transfer of family land by partition, as a shift within the family group as such. Usually, there is no question of payments. Nevertheless, a practice in East Java, which gave adoption the character of a cash transaction, still seems to exist in the payment of a magical token of "rong wang sagobang" (seventeen and one-half cents) to the real parents, as a means of breaking their magic tie to the child. Among the Minahasans a tangible token, called "parade" (not lilikur, it seems) is given to the child in confirmation of the adoption.[5] The predominant purpose is, as usual, to get a descendant to carry on a person's line. But this is

[5] Concerning the old age care contract, which the Minahasans call "adoption," the reader should refer back to p. 138. [cat. 116 -- Analyst]

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12
Bali OF7
Sumba OF17

Matriarchal marriage is also associated with gift exchanges. But in this situation the woman is not a part of the exchange of valuables. She is not released from her group by the receipt of the gifts. Thus the exchange of gifts is of secondary importance in matrilineally organized societies.

a. *Bride-price.*—As a technical concept of adat law, bride-price involves payments from the man's family to the girl's with the object of incorporating her into the husband's sub-clan, and her children, too. Presents, or any other marriage gifts, which have a different effect must be called something other than bride-price. Bride-price, in a patriarchal system, is therefore a cash transaction. (See p. 105.)

Adoptive marriage is a contrasting form that takes place within the patrilineal framework. Its purpose is to adopt a son-in-law into the clan of his wife, so that the wife's father gets a "son" and his daughter's children belong to his clan, so to continue his line, and not the erstwhile clan of the son-in-law. (See p. 156.) In scattered instances we have reports of the release of the husband by his clan to his wife's in a manner similar to that which occurs in a transfer based on bride-price: a bridegroom price. These examples come from Bali and Sumba. Sometimes there is a formal adoption of the groom into the bride's patrilineal clan. (See p. 161.) However, the general practice is to admit the husband into the bride's patrilineal clan without calling for any payments. Nor does it matter, if the husband is an alien, or not.

On page 156, we explained how the regular occurrence of bride-price with adoptive marriage results in the development of an alternating unilateral kinship system, while adoptive marriage, as a regular form, produces a matrilineal system. This is not to maintain, however, that matrilineal systems always originate in this way. But it would seem to be the case in Saparua and among the matrilineal Semindoëans of Palembang, who are descended from the patrilineal Pasemahans.

There is but little difference between marriages based on cash bride-price and marriage with postponed payment, coupled with suitor service. In this type of marriage, man and wife cohabit, and the husband works for his wife's family until the bride-price is satisfied.

Also similar are exchange marriage, in which dowry and bride-price cancel each other.

And finally, a marriage in which a man takes the widow of his

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Redjang-Lampong OD12 Minangkabau OD10
Sumba OF17
Bali OF7

f. *Matrilineal marriage.*—A marriage in a matrilineal system is not coupled with such payments as bride-price or marriage portion. The husband remains in his own kin group. But as an individual allied by marriage (urang sumando in Minangkabau) he is admitted to association with his wife's family. At the conclusion of the marriage, he is fetched from his home, where a brief ritual of release takes place, and he is forthwith brought "home," i.e., to the household of his wife.

g. *Adoptive marriage.*—Adoptive marriage has already been mentioned a number of times (pp. 58, 156, 159, 169). In such marriages,[7] the biological relation of child to mother attains a social meaning such as is generally associated structurally with the relationship to the father. Among some peoples the spouse is frequently chosen from a lower class or an alien group, but in general the choice is taken from within the same tribe and class. Rarely, we find reports about a payment, which releases the man from his kin group, as the payment of a thousand doits or a pillow and rice (as in Bali) or the payment for a man who is transferred from his "kabisu" (clan) to that of his wife in Sumba.

Among the Pepadon groups in the Lampongs, an adat dignitary (penjimbang), whose head wife (bini ratu) has produced only daughters, can maintain his position for his own family line by having his daughters undertake an adoptive marriage. This may take several forms. First, the chief's nephew marries his daughter and becomes a son-in-law; as such he gets the chief's position and inheritance and passes them on to his son. Second, an outsider may be adopted into the chief's family, marry the girl, and carry out these functions as a son-in-law. Third, the husband may transfer into his wife's family, but he gets his father-in-law's status and inheritance only in the sense that he administers it for his wife and son. Fourthly, the husband does not transfer into the wife's family, except insofar as he is admitted as the procreator of offspring. In only one group [among the Pepadons], the Sewo Mego, is the marriage of cousins blocked by exogamy.

In the case of the lower classes, where inheritance is the sole concern, similar possibilities exist, but under different names.

In Bali, too, when a man has daughters, but no sons, there are the two basic arrangements: adoption of the son-in-law as the bearer

[7] This type of marriage is called "anggap" (Gayo), "semendo ambil," "anaq," "nangkon," "tjambur sumbai," *etc.* (South Sumatra), "kawin ambil piara" (Ambon), and "nyeburin" (Bali).